/204 cont./

643 648 799 Regional caciques are now very few, and they themselves are submissive servants of the whites, who do not let them live as they would like very much, but in matters referring to morality do let them live as they wish. Only the missionary makes them understand that such a life is contrary to divine law, but the Chiriguano refuses to understand this.

595 597 829 643 The important men assert that to possess many wives is necessary for the preparation of chicha for offering hospitality to guests and visitors. This excuse is not satisfactory, because the cacique in the town where he resides is like an absolute king, and nothing is easier than to command his subordinates or relatives and always have his favorite drink; no matter how much of it he may want, he can always ask for more for himself or for his guests.

595 622 [582] The subaltern caciques in general are bigamists, but they do not become such in their youth, when they are like hummingbirds, but at 40 or 50 years of age. This happens when the first wife is older than the husband, or his eye is caught by another younger woman whom he brings to his house as soon as he has her in peaceful possession. He at once orders the old woman to respect her. If she is quiet and consents, she continues working and serving her rival in the interest of food, but if she is not quiet, she receives a good dose of the stick, is thrown out of the house, and does not get back into it. But there are strong-minded women who do not allow the desecration of their home /illustration appears here/ /205/ where they have lived for years and have children of both sexes, who are then left behind because the man moves to the second wife's house (1).

[162] [169] 1. Formerly, women were abundant because of wars. Today they are abundant because of the emigration of the Indian men to the Republic of Argentina.

[text continues on p. 279]

/205 cont./

587 595 When the mother of a family is widowed at a mature age, after a year of widowhood, if she was a dutiful wife, she can easily remarry: it is much easier if she has a daughter, even if she is small. The Chiriguano man marries the mother with the hope of being able to marry the stepdaughter when she reaches a suitable age. If at the time of marrying a widow the stepdaughter is already an adult, it is difficult to achieve this end, because young girls abhor this type of union, in spite of the fact that their mother, in order not to be repudiated, often serves as a go-between for the wicked desires of her husband (?).

[593] [562] 2. The stepdaughter, when she sees the impossibility of freeing herself from the evil intentions of her stepfather, will often run away to another tribe, and, if she cannot manage this, will take her life by suicide.

• 582 In spite of being so inclined to lechery without regard for kinship, even in a direct line, it is worth considering the respect that the Chiriguano professes for consanguinity, regardless of the degree considered. It is unlikely that a man will marry a cousin in the fourth degree, and he tries to respect [593] even more distant degrees. With much more reason the father respects his daughters as holy things, it being completely false what somebody wrote about this, having heard of the case where one Chiriguano or several had lived with their daughters when the mother had died. It could happen that in the future they might marry their cousins, since they see that their superiors do this, but how many of those who are here will be alive a few years from now?

/226 cont./

881 178 do not advise anyone of their puberty, even their mothers, and the consequences are sad in no few cases. They do not tell anyone because the older girls make fun of them.

163 582 A single thing is noted in the missions, and it is that the neophytes, when they get to the age of about 30, stop having children. Perhaps this is because they marry very young, at about 16 to 20 at the latest. If it is true that the Chiriguano 581 women of old were ready for marriage /227/ as soon as they came out of their hiding or fasting, the union which they contracted was certainly neither continuous nor for life with the same person. One or two months with one, then a rest until giving birth, afterwards again joining the same man, or perhaps she would seek out another if the first had become bored 799 with her or she with him. But this does not happen in the 581 missions: those who contract marriage do it for life, because it is a Catholic union and, as such, indissoluble, just as the natural marriage of the infidels would be, but the Chiriguano does not understand this, since in principle he wishes to be a hummingbird, coming to rest on many flowers and not stopping at any of them until he reaches a certain age.

881 785 184 In the districts where the fasting lasted for a year, such as in Cuevo, before the town of San Juan Bautista and the Santa Rosa Mission were founded, after the first rigorous month the maidens were made to eat meat and beans also, and they were even allowed to drink a little mild chicha, so that they would not become too weak or die. If the chicha had turned sour, it would be prejudicial for later married life, producing the effects of which I have already spoken.

881 178 177 Finally, to conclude such a delicate subject, let it be noted that at the present time the custom of such a rigorous fast for the female sex is observed in very few places: today the region is inhabited by the white race, which is making them understand that all this is superstition, because of the example of their daughters, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing of what has been said, live in perfect

/210 cont./

When a girl has her first menstruation, she is put in a compartment in the hut, a sort of closet. Her hair is cut short, and she may not come out until it has grown medium long again. Accompanied by her mother she may go out and attend to her needs, for example, bathe, etc. Between the first and second menstruation she must stay on a diet. She may eat cooked maize and meat. The Chané call this custom "yimundia."

In a Chané village, Aguarbi, I saw a girl who was sitting in such a closet. She was spinning. I peered into the closet, which was probably wrong of me, for on the next day girl and closet had disappeared.

P. Chomé (1) already mentions this custom in connection with the Chiriguano. He says the Indians believe a snake has bitten the girl.

When the girl emerges from this imprisonment, she is marriageable.

/211/ When the Chané boy is about 10-12 years old, his lower lip is pierced by a man particularly experienced in this. A small piece of wood is stuck in the hole. The boy must lie down for a day. His grandfather comes and tears deep wounds in his body, so that he will become brave in battle and a capable hunter. In the morning, when it is still quite cold, he takes him to bathe, so that he will become a proper man.

For one day the father may not consume anything, so that the boy will not become loquacious. This shows that the Indians do not like prattlers.

When the boy grows older, he receives in place of the small piece of wood a larger one, and when he becomes a man he may parade around with a large plug, "tembeta," in his lower lip (Fig. 79). This is supposed to be of wood in which pieces of turquoise and chrysocolla are set. Among the Chané and most of the Chiriguano only the old men now have the tembeta.

1. P. Chomé, p. 320. The same priest also speaks of the custom of the couvade among these Indians, pp. 321. Lettres édifiantes /Edifying Letters/. Vol. XXIV.

G. Nordenskiöld--GM E-5. (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chané SF 8

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Marriages seem to me to be happy as a rule. In the village of the Chané chief Vocapoy I had an opportunity to see several newly married couples. The happiness of the honeymoon month seemed to me unfeigned, and the young wives worked industriously for their husbands. Nevertheless, among the Indians, as among other peoples, there are women of different character. There were some who worked all day long for their homes, and others who seemed to live only to amuse themselves.

Sibling marriages are forbidden, whereas male and female cousins may marry (at least among the Chané).

This, on the other hand, as has been mentioned, is not permitted among either the Chorotí or the Mataco.

Among the Chané and Chiriguano there are some who have several wives. This is true, however, not for the young men, but for the older ones, especially the chiefs. Vocapoy had four wives, who lived in different villages. /213/ Taco is said to have seven, Maringay has two, who live together. Old Mandepora (Fig. 111) is also said to have a larger /Fig. 111 appears here/ number. These older exalted gentlemen often abandon their wives and acquire new, young, and pretty ones.

Except for these cases, the difference in age between the spouses does not, as a rule, seem to be more than a few years.

/214/ If one talks to the missionaries about the moral conditions among the Indians, especially among the Chiriguano, they paint them in black colors. The moral conduct of the Christian Indians is, I am afraid, very bad, but in the valleys where the white man has not corrupted the Indians I never saw an instance of promiscuous love, as among the Chorotí. Maringay's village is typical of the old customs, and nowhere have I seen as strict morality as prevailed there. In these purely heathen villages no girl was ever offered to the members of the expedition, whereas this did happen at the mission stations.

The following opinion is given by the Jesuit priest Ignace Chomé in a letter of 1735 (1), at a time when they were still

1. Chomé, op. cit., p. 318.

?:Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SF10 Chiriguano SF10

in each of the lower corners of the beam ends, fig. 231. From the illustrations representing the rest of the Old Peruvian balances it cannot be seen in what way the poising and weight cords were fixed. The balances in question have, however, been published in Hamy's grand work, Galerie américaine, and from that work I have therefore endeavoured to gain information concerning this matter. There is only one balance, one without weight cords, that has been given a detailed description, and regarding this, it is stated that the beam, at its centre, has *a vertical perforation* (for the poising cord), and that the lower corners of the beam ends are each pierced with a slanting hole (»les angles inférieurs sont aussi percés mais obliquement«).[1] If one or more of the balances reproduced had been of a different construction in this detail, the fact would no doubt have been noted in the text.[2] From what I have adduced above, it therefore follows that the illustrative material, which Nordenskiöld so chivalrously submitted for my criticism of his theory, most essentially enhances the probability of my opinion that the unhandy Old Peruvian weighing apparatus shown in fig. 229, is an improvisation of a whistle which, as I aimed at proving in a separate monograph, belongs to a type of open whistles which is widely distributed over the American continent.[3]

As mentioned, the Chiriguano live in villages, and it is only exceptionally that one comes across isolated huts. Each village is under the authority of a headman, or chief.

Both sexes marry at an early age. Monogamy is the rule, but well-to-do men, and chiefs, may be found who have several wives. When a girl menstruates for the first time, her hair is cut short (fig. 194), and she is kept shut up in a hut until her hair has grown long again, after which she is considered marriageable. When a boy attains to puberty, a hole is made through his lower lip, and a wooden plug is put into the hole. Subsequently this is exchanged for a bead-studded »tembeta« (figs. 194 and 197). Marriages are celebrated by feasting, when large quantities of maire beer are consumed. The women pass through childbirth easily, and therefore do not require many days of nursing after the child has

[1] Hamy (1), p. 110.

[2] At the British Museum there is an ancient Peruvian scale apparently of the same construction as those described by Hamy. Joyce (1) p. 130, fig. 11

[3] von Rosen (8).

/89 cont./
rarely born (344). Marriages are made among the Chané by a

344. Nord. 1, p. 207.

method whereby the young man who wishes to marry sends several pieces of game to the girl's parents. He puts firewood in front of her house, and, if it is used, this signifies consent. But only after having worked for one year for his future mother-in-law can he marry the girl. The night before the wedding, which is celebrated by drinking a good amount of chicha, the young man sleeps with the girl (345).

345. Nord. 1, pp. 211 and 212.

While young men have but one wife, older men, and particularly caciques, often have several wives. Thus the substitute great cacique on the Itiyuru had four wives, who lived in different towns, and the cacique Maringay had two wives, who lived together (346). Marriage between brother and sister is prohibited,

346. Nord. 1, pp. 212 and 213.

while cousins may marry (347).

347. Nord. 1, p. 212.

Certain foods are forbidden to the pregnant woman. Thus, among the Chané on the Itiyuru a pregnant woman cannot eat doves. But they do their work until they give birth (348). After

348. Nord. 1, p. 206.

a child has been born, the man must go through the "couvade," which means that he must remain lying down for several days and must stay on a certain diet. Among the Chané on the Parapití for the first few days he may eat only cooked maize and maize soup,